765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sõte écũ tcháme. Iménhame ari utîẽ bai utîẽ mai pánme. Etẽã nanhum utẽ rupanhum bẽ anhocate edîẽ. Imenhame utîẽ xi utîẽ me pito utîẽ bai ari ué utiẽ ũebé anhocate epẽcupeidie ipi bé utîẽ parará ama utîẽ rupanhum bẽ-xime. Rupãnhum-bẽ tié a ãen anhocate edîẽ tutu ué-ẽ utié rupanhum bẽ-ibé pame une pite idiotié má utié pa-ãme pai bẽxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽũi caracuie cuié ãẽ uadime uté cabé ute racuí axirau umãe iueipe iné utîẽ uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tutũne pre ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
734 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquê.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is espe-
[349] cially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquê but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children. 142

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems. 614

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ũ;ũ* and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments, which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mêsêri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kaduke* from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children. [534] [776] [272]

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants. [784]

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuriaet*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing. 614 616

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i baríp*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related". 614

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *ïhga waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last 342

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. --Analyst]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: sceptors (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

734 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

614 The existence of the sib system was first reported by Hmm. Agassiz in 1865[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, [784] or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports [775] the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibó.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is <u>diwat</u> (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.

17. Kruse, 1934.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 51-52.

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the man who had taken heads. They were referred to as daieboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title a'eboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn't hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iberuaüüz*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajebeiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboili

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home.

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognised by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ãi*, and they can be recognised only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ãi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ãi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ãi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ãi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ãi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ãi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ãi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ãi* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ãi* would become extremely angry.

The *putcha ãi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ãi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ãi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ãi* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned
755 that the *putcha ãi* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
784 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Biu ãi* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Biu ãi* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *tawe ãi*, or mother-of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

774 The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ãi* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another